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2005

Cushman, Gregory T. "¿De qué color es el oro?: Race, Environment, and the History of Cuban National Music." Latin American Music Review 26, no.2 (Fall/Winter 2005): 164-194.

Published version: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4121677.

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Abstract:
This article examines the history of an important cultural practice: history writing. It focuses on ideologies of national unity developed by four influential Cuban intellectuals: Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, Emilio Grenet, Alejo Carpentier, Fernando Ortiz. Like contemporaries in Brazil and many other parts of the world, they looked to music to define Cuba's national essence. Inevitably, their histories of Cuban music focused on race, the most divisive social issue of the day. They applied theories of environmental influence in an attempt to reconcile racial difference and national unity—and to define the true origins and "color" of Cuba's most valuable cultural treasure.

Cushman, Gregory T. "¿De qué color es el oro?: Race, Environment, and the History of Cuban National Music." Latin American Music Review 26, no.2 (Fall/Winter 2005): 164-194. Publisher's official version: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4121677 .
Open Access version: http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/.

¿De qué color es el oro?:

Race, Environment, and the History of Cuban National Music, 1898-1958*

by Gregory T. Cushman

Modern Cuban identity is intimately tied up with the perception that a poor Antillean "island of shacks" (*isla de bohíos*) became rich through its music.[1] During the twentieth century, many writers have identified Cuba's national singularity with a supposed cultural miracle. Beginning in the 1920s, the new Cuban republic established its place on the globe by exporting "sounds sweeter than its sugar" that proceeded to conquer Europe and the United States. The famed Cuban writer Guillermo Cabrera Infante feels that *músicas negras* from the United States, Brazil, and Cuba (blues, jazz, rhythm and blues, rock and roll, samba, bossa nova, son, rumba, and salsa) have bathed European shores with "a warmth greater than the Gulf Stream." In his view, "The world has been Africanized" by these musical forms, and paradoxically, "Africa has been westernized . . . not by soldiers, missionaries, merchants, white hunters, or doctors playing Bach on the organ," but by the introduction of "African" musics created in the West. "Africa now dances to the rhythms of America," while "Hitler—and Wagner of course—turn in their graves in tune with the rumba."[2]

Contrary to Cabrera Infante's claim, the history of Cuba's music during this global invasion has hardly been "inaudible."[3] In fact, this international phenomenon inspired some of Cuba's most important cultural figures to write the first histories of music in Cuba. This essay examines four of the most influential examples of this prose genre written during the supposed Golden Age of Cuban music before the upheaval of the 1959 Revolution. Though Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, Emilio Grenet, Alejo Carpentier, and Fernando Ortiz were all responding to Cuba's peculiar cultural climate and historical situation, they participated in a long-standing, pan-American intellectual movement to write histories interpreting the connection between racial inheritance, environment, music, and national identity.

These four intellectuals shared the same basic problem and came to similar solutions. Each used the history of Cuba's music and musicianship to explore the meaning of Cuban

nationality (*cubanidad*). In turn, each focused inevitably on the divisive race question, since Cuba was—and remains—a multiracial society fractured by racism. Each author presented a theory of music that attempted to reconcile the fractious ideas of race and nation, often by applying theories of environmental influence. Through the the act of writing history, each constructed an ideology of national unity for a society divided by conflicts. Their texts reveal something about the individual mind as both an interpreter and a product of its time, including some of the premises about human nature that lie at the heart of all histories. In short, this study is both an exploration of the Cuban imagination and the imagination of Cuba.

Writing the Nation: History, Race, and Music

Preoccupation with the "race" of a country's national music is not the exclusive domain of Cuban intellectuals nor the written word. The relationship between music, race, and nation was the central organizing theme of Ken Burns's recent documentary film *Jazz*. In episode one, "Gumbo," the first voice one hears is that of trumpeter/intellectual Wynton Marsalis: "Jazz objectifies America. It is an artform that can give us a painless way to understand ourselves." This is not Marsalis's message alone, but that of Burns's entire nineteen-hour film: Jazz "is America's music born out of a million negotiations . . . between black and white . . . between the Old Africa and the new Europe that could only have happened in an entirely New World." Substitute "son" for jazz and "Cuba" for America and this could have been a statement made by Alejo Carpentier fifty years before.[4]

Yet taken as a whole, Burns's film is not as inclusive as this beginning might suggest. We are told briefly in episode one that West Indian slaves "filled with the infectious pulse of the Caribbean" were a key ingredient of the primordial New Orleans "gumbo" that gave birth to jazz. We do not hear of any additional "Caribbean" contribution until the momentary appearance of Afro-Cuban percussionist/composer Chano Pozo who passed "the infectious rhythms" of his homeland to Dizzy Gillespie's be-bop experiments of the late 1940s. (This repeated use of "infectious" to describe this Caribbean influence unintentionally conveys

metaphorical associations with contagious disease and foreign invasion, two great fears of xenophobes.)[5] The film provides no explanation for the dominating presence of the *clave*—the quintessential Afro-Cuban rhythm—in a 1955 performance of *Caravan* by the orchestra of Duke Ellington, who for Burns was the definitive composer of "America's music." (Ellington co-composed this jazz standard in the 1930s with Juan Tizol, a valve trombonist native to San Juan, Puerto Rico.)[6]

In the 489-page companion volume to this film, other than a photo of Xavier Cugat's orchestra, the only additional mention of "Latin" influence on jazz comes in the form of an attack on Stan Kenton, "the last great defender of white jazz, the ultimate white jazz musician." In a 1958 interview, Kenton declared, "Afro-Cuban rhythms . . . are going to loom big in modern jazz; so big that people will stop thinking of them as strictly Afro-Cuban. One day, American music will have swallowed up completely the Cuban rhythms." For all his declarations on "white jazz," Kenton was, in fact, one of the principal founders of "Latin jazz," a style completely ignored by this film and book. This major omission implies that its authors endorse aspects of Kenton's "artistic Manifest Destiny" against the contention that American music has a distinctive, deep-rooted "Latin tinge."[7]

My main point is neither to heap criticism on Burns and his collaborators nor to reify the national and ethnic categories they deploy, but instead to point out that the connection between race and music is still a potent issue for writers of national history at the beginning of the twenty-first century. The same issues pervade discussions of the history of samba, "Brazil's 'national rhythm.'" During the course of the twentieth century, samba went from a repressed activity associated with vagabond Afro-Brazilians to an emblem of mestiço Brazilian culture and a symbol of shared Brazilian nationality. "Once upon a time we discovered the pride of living in a mestiço country where everything is mixed together," Brazilian anthropologist Hermano Vianna writes. The great "mystery of samba" is how this occurred. In Vianna's interpretation, an ongoing encounter between elite, white intellectuals and poor, black musicians in Rio de Janeiro went a long way toward accomplishing this shift. Brazilian historians Gilberto Freyre and Sérgio

Buarque de Holanda played pivotal roles in this process of mediation (even though Freyre, in contrast to his Cuban contemporaries, wrote little about music in his famed historical trilogy).[8] Likewise, the racial and national significance of Portuguese-born starlet Carmen Miranda, "the lady in the tutti-frutti hat," and bossa nova, a Brazilian style reciprocally influenced by North American jazz, are subjects of perennial concern.[9] Such issues extend to debates over the cultural significance of rock in Mexico and jazz in Japan.[10]

Music has itself shaped this nationalist discourse. In 1940, after she received an icy homecoming reception from Rio's elite, Carmen Miranda performed the following samba to counter claims that she had betrayed Brazilian national identity in her pursuit of a U.S. film career:

> They say I came back Americanized
> Full of money, riches, hell,
> And they say I can't stand to hear tambourine,
> And the *cuia* just makes me yell.
> They say now I'm too worried about my hands.
> There's a rumor I'd like to take up chess.
> They say I've lost my spice, my rhythm, my tone,
> All the bangles I used to wear.
> Why so much bitterness?
> How could I ever be Americanized?
> I was born with the samba.
> I spend the nights singing the old songs.
> I hang out with the hustlers.
> I say "Eu te amo,"
> Never "I love you."
> For so long as there's a Brazil
> . . . my heart is with my homeland.[11]

During the mid-nineteenth century, the operas of Giuseppe Verdi and Richard Wagner contributed directly to patriotic discourse associated with Italian and German unification. Since then, composers from practically every European and American country have sought to give their music a "national" voice: on the European side of the Atlantic to counter German domination in the art-music field, on the American side to establish national cultural equality on the European imperial powers' own terms. Even now, the field of historical musicology is

founded on the assumption that "national styles" based on "the ideas and institutions peculiar to a given country or language group" are an objective reality.[12]

Around the turn of the century, Europeans developed what eventually became known as ethnomusicology, the study of traditional and popular musical forms, in large part to study the "folk" of their own nations.[13] In Hungary, one of the leaders of this movement, Zoltán Kódaly, developed an entire pedagogical system that used folk songs to teach the basic elements of "national" music to children in public schools; his system is now in widespread use internationally. Latin American intellectuals took up ethnomusicology for similar purposes during the 1920s and 1930s. In fact, the four men described in this essay broke ground for this transnational movement.[14]

The writing of national histories also played a vital role in these debates. History has long been conceived as the writing of "national biography." History attained its Golden Age during the nineteenth century when national historians in the Western world embarked on a self-conscious, Romantic quest for the "spiritual unity of a people" via examination of the past. In the process, historians became advisers and spokesmen for the ruling class as European states redrew the map of the colonized world. European nationalist history writing became the world's historiographic model and spawned the historical profession, even as it precluded the composition of a unified global history and provided vindication for chauvinism, inspiration for violence, and fodder for the "vicious bumptiousness of third-rate textbook compilers."[15]

Latin American intellectuals actively participated in the Golden Age of history writing. In fact, they may have helped initiate it. A recent study argues that modern conceptions of history writing have their origin, not in nineteenth-century Europe, but in a now obscure, eighteenth-century debate over how to write the history of the New World. Patriotic Creoles in Spanish America played a formative role in this trans-Atlantic discourse.[16] After independence, history writing turned into an indispensable tool for the *pensadores* of nascent Latin American nation-states. In nineteenth-century Chile, prominent figures such as Andrés Bello, José Victorino Lastarria, Francisco Bilbao, Diego Barros Arana, Miguel Luis Amunátegui and

Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna wrote history as a political weapon, as a defense of family or personal honor, as a foundation for progressive and nationalist education, and as a signifier of an enlightened new age emerged from colonial darkness.[17] According to Colombian historian Germán Colmenares, all historians must take these *historias patrias* seriously, since their themes provide a means without substitute to grasp the cultural milieu that defined nineteenth-century intellectual life in the Latin American republics. Historians today are still imprisoned by the images created by the first generation of historians: The history of Latin America continues to be nationalist history. Only through analysis of these images can we properly understand our own visions of the past.[18]

Ideologies of race and environmental determinism distinctly shaped ideologies of nation. European racist texts such as Joseph Arthur de Gobineau's *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1854) proclaimed inferior nations were built from inferior races. Climatic determinist Ellsworth Huntington's *Civilization and Climate* (1915) also condemned "tropical" nations to eternal backwardness. Such thinking profoundly shaped history writing. This ideological challenge left intellectuals living in multi-racial societies, especially those situated between the tropics, with a dilemma: Should they accept these concepts and give in to inevitable national defeat? Should they pursue national improvement through European immigration and "whitening"? Would the tropical environment counteract these attempts at improvement? Was it possible to alter this environment? Or, should they proclaim counter-theories—that all races will become unified in the mestizo and mulatto, or that the fecund tropics will give birth to a new, superior civilization? This dilemma affected the construction of nationalist ideologies, public policy, and private expression throughout the Americas. Indeed, as we have already seen, it still shapes histories of African-derived musics to the present day. In the 1920s, ethnographers and writers of national music histories in many parts of Latin America began to recognize the multicultural contribution to "national" musical forms as a reply to this ideological challenge.[19]

It is possible to make such arguments because of an "agnostic" revolution in the writing of the history of nationalism and the history of historical memory over the last quarter century.

The most influential of these works, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* (1st ed., 1983), argued that nationalism is a distinctly recent phenomenon first created by "Creole pioneers" in the late-colonial Americas toward the end of the eighteenth century. Closer to the present, many Third World movements developed their own "imagined political communities" in their quest for national liberation from (neo)colonial dominance. The acts of "memory and forgetting" involved in historical consciousness—typically expressed in the "print language" of saleable periodicals and books—contributed fundamentally to the development of these imagined communities. The modification and ritualization of old folk songs and the creation of new, "national" anthems also played an important role in this process. The writing of histories of music in the Americas was critical to the "mass-generation of traditions" for these imagined nations.[20]

Living in one of the last Spanish colonies to gain independence, Cubans were a bit late to join the Creole nationalist phenomenon in the Americas, but they wasted little time in constructing one of the most powerful nationalist ideologies in the world. The revolutionary Cuban state founded in 1959 is the most obvious product of this potent Cuban nationalism. Anderson emphasized the importance of shared language for the creation of an imagined community: Cubans shared a spoken and print language with a score of other countries decades before Cuba became independent, even if they alone spoke shared *cubanismos*.[21] Therefore, Cubans were forced to imagine other peculiar forms of shared identity besides language. The four historians of Cuban music considered here all envisioned a shared *musical* language as a signifier of Cuban nationality. Yet the exact nature of this music and its history differentiates all these historias patrias. None of these authors—four prominent figures on the Cuban cultural scene—shared a particular vision of Cuban national music. They all provided different answers to a key question: ¿*De qué color es el oro*? What "race" is Cuba's richest cultural offering to the world? In this, as in so many cases, "writing the nation" turned out to be a divisive, rather than a unifying process, at least until the ideological triumph of the Cuban Revolution after 1959.

Writing the History of Cuban Music (1898-1933)

Culminating a struggle lasting more than three decades, Cuba finally obtained functional independence in 1902, four years after the triumph of the United States during the "Spanish-American War." Cuban independence and citizenship had harshly prescribed limits, however. Through a number of instruments, both legal and informal, this nascent republic remained under U.S. tutelage. The most obvious was the so-called Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution of 1901 that legalized U.S. intervention in Cuban affairs. The official nationalist ideology created during the nineteenth-century wars for independence, meanwhile, promoted the idea of "male fraternity" among black and white veterans and "racial equality" among the new citizens of the republic. Yet Cuban society retained its two-tier racial system. Much like the United States, but unlike Brazil and most other Latin American countries, a person was either white (superior and worthy of citizenship) or black (inferior and unworthy of citizenship) in Cuban social reality.[22] Political cartoons reflected this reality: Cuban nationalists typically portrayed Cuba either as an idealized white, Hispanic woman or as a white, bearded *guajiro* (male country-bumpkin) named Liborio, while U.S. imperialists caricatured the Cuban nation as a black child incapable of caring for itself.[23]

Cubans lived in an atmosphere of extreme and violent racial division during this era. Beneath this shallow myth of racial equality created to unify independence forces lay deep, dark, racist fears that resurfaced soon after independence. White Cubans, after more than a century, still dreaded a repeat of the violent revolution that created the black republic of Haiti in 1804. Moreover, whites were terrified of specific black stereotypes: the black rapist, the mulatto seductress, especially the diabolic spells and ceremonies of the Afro-Cuban *brujo* (witch) and *ñáñigo* (secret society initiate). The struggle for political recognition waged by people of African descent in Cuba led directly to the 1912 racist massacre in Oriente province of thousands of Afro-Cuban men, women, and children at the hands of the official army and white vigilantes. This spilling of blood laid bare the extreme racial division at the heart of Cuban society and the

true status of Afro-Cubans. Routine lynchings, repression of religious rituals, segregation, and job discrimination—even in the entertainment industry—continued to highlight their inferior status. During the early decades of the Cuban republic, people of African descent were nothing like full members of the Cuban "nation."[24]

Such virulent racism did not mean every door was closed to black Cubans. During the 1920s and 1930s, in a process remarkably similar to Brazil, certain aspects of Afro-Cuban culture increasingly gained acceptance in white Cuban society. Musical performance associated with Afro-Cubans opened the way: The son and rumba achieved international fame during Europe's *vogue nègre*. White interpreters of "African" music such as bandleader Xavier Cugat garnered further respectability for these musical forms, while the popularity of Cuban folklore among foreign tourists and a booming international record industry associated with the "rumba craze" created opportunities for black musicians. Most importantly, an avant-garde movement akin to the Harlem Renaissance in the United States selectively glorified the African in Cuba as a source of inspiration for poetry, fiction, theater, visual art, musical composition, and academic study. In the case of poet Nicolás Guillén and painter Wifredo Lam, this ascendance of *afrocubanismo* provided the opportunity for non-white intellectuals to achieve cultural prominence. Influenced by these trends, the administration of President Gerardo Machado (1925-1933) gave official recognition to Afro-Cuban performance, though his increasingly authoritarian regime sent a number of vanguard intellectuals to prison or exile. Anti-American sentiment associated with his overthrow further improved this climate of racial tolerance for black musicians in Cuba.[25]

This is the fractious racial and cultural context in which the first histories of Cuban music were written. As a reflection of their times, these histories tended to reject or promote specific aspects of Afro-Cuban culture in their quest to define a Cuban nation with or without racial division.

Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes y Peláez (1874-1944)

Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes joined the debate over the musical identity of the Cuban nation early during his musical career. Born to Spanish parents in Havana, he achieved a law degree and received formal conservatory training with some of the greatest names in nineteenth-century music in Cuba. As a professional composer and performer, Sánchez de Fuentes acted as an important exponent of folkloric, popular, and cultivated musical forms in Cuba. His work *Tú* (1894) is considered the classic example of a composed *habanera*. As a writer, he published several articles on music and its origins for Cuba Contemporanea. This group of nationalist intellectuals took a decidedly elitist, even pro-U.S. position when looking for answers to the many problems that faced the early Cuban Republic. As a direct (perhaps intended) consequence, they never attracted much of a following, though they had considerable influence over some key cultural institutions. Cuba Contemporanea's press Siglo XX published Sánchez de Fuentes's first significant interpretation of the roots of Cuban music, *El folk-lor en la música cubana* (1923). He also organized the first Festivals of Cuban Song in Cienfuegos and Havana in 1922 and went on to serve as president of an influential cultural organization, the Academia de Artes y Letras, from 1940 until his death. Sánchez de Fuentes was the primary advocate of Cuban *indigenismo*, particularly through his operas *Yumurí* (debut 1898) and *Doreya* (debut 1918). His vision of cubanidad was explicitly countered to afrocubanismo and was more in line with intellectual trends in countries with large indigenous populations such as Mexico and Peru.[26]

In 1928, Sánchez de Fuentes published a historical essay on the influence of "African rhythms" on Cuban song as part of Siglo XX's multi-volume history of Cuban culture. This work succinctly reveals his peculiar vision of the racial essentials of Cuban musical history, one that vociferously excluded Afro-Cubans as contributors to national culture and rejected the claims of afrocubanistas.[27]

For Sánchez de Fuentes, three essential factors or roots (*tres raíces de origen*) shaped the development of Cuban music: Indian, Spanish, and environmental. In an elaborate discussion, he identified the *tumbadera* (a drum), the marimba, and the *aceíto* ceremony of the Siboney

people as key indigenous influences on the earliest music played in Cuba after the Spanish conquest. He said little about how this influence might have worked, except to insist how "logical" or "reasonable" it would be for elements to survive from this original environment of "deception" (*mixtificación*). His claims for Indian influence actually say more about his premises regarding the essence of national music forms: The Indian connected Cuban musical tradition to an unsullied "virgen land" and thereby provided "original" and "characteristic" elements to the "the music of our land." For Sánchez de Fuentes, these indigenous elements rooted Cuban music in the distant past of the New World and provided it with unique, natural characteristics. Such ingredients were essential to myths of national origin developed during this era.[28]

Leaving the Indian aside, Sánchez de Fuentes cautioned his readers not to forget that "the Spanish" were "the major influence" on Cuban music. In the pantheon of Cuban dances, the *zapateo*, *punto cubano*, *guajira*, *criolla*, *canción*, and *canción patriótica* were all "clearly Spanish" and "free from any contamination by the African factor." In the *bolero antiguo*, he could sense "the rumor of our palms blowing in the wind," a pure environmental influence. This song form stood in contrast to the contaminated *bolero* from Oriente, in which he heard the distinct rhythms of Africa. Likewise, Sánchez de Fuentes claimed that the "Norman" *contradanza* came to Cuba in the eighteenth century with frenchified Spaniards. Through an "interesting promiscuity," this form became distinctly "vernacular" in the Cuban environment as it grew under the influence of the fertile earth and gentle breezes of the tropics into "a new flower": the uniquely Cuban *danza* and *danzón*. It was entirely inconceivable to Sánchez de Fuentes that these ballroom genres—three of the preferred idioms of Cuba's first nationalist composers, his mentors —might have arrived with Haitians after the Haitian Revolution or developed in *casas de cuna*, unreputable entertainment centers where white men went to listen to music and consort with women of color.[29]

Sánchez de Fuentes knew what he did about Cuba's musical past, not by documentary evidence or oral tradition, but by musical analysis. His historical epistemology did not derive

from any specific school of musicology, but from biases engrained during his conservatory training that promoted the intellectual superiority of cultivated musical forms identifiable by their complex, rational elements. By this logic, he knew a priori that "African music" was rudimentary in structure, "more rhythmic than melodic. . . structurally disarticulated . . . monotonous" in tone, and "dynamic" in sound intensity. Using such principles, he could identify in an instant the "unmistakable" racial origin of any musical composition and convince his readers of this truth simply by pointing to a sample score. A rumba was thus given away as "African" by its simple, repetitive eight-measure cycle. This emphasis on structural essentials corresponded not only with the way scientists used skull measurements and IQ, but also with the way everyday Cubans relied on external features of facial structure, hair texture, and skin tone to identify race. Therefore, such conclusions would probably have seemed common sense to most readers of the day. The fact that Afro-Cubans were associated with murderous disorder and rumba with a "lewd and sensual dance" provided environmental confirmation for this elemental racial inferiority.[30]

The immense popularity of son in Cuba irked Sánchez de Fuentes in particular. It had clear melodic associations with the "pristine" danzón, yet it had equally clear associations with Afro-Cuban percussion. Sánchez de Fuentes traced the geneology of son to underscore the danger of racial mixing to the Cuban nation: The original son had been born "free of foreign contamination" among the lower, "happy" classes living in Baracoa, one of Cuba's easternmost settlements. Immigrant Haitians in Oriente first caused a "retrograde transformation" of this pure musical form and created a "bastard" son. It was further adulterated by the influence of African, Colombian, Dominican, and Mexican song and the "snobbish" jazz dances brought by U.S. imperialists. This dangerous mix "without cause or right" then gave the "deathblow" to the danzón once cherished by white Cuban ballroom culture.[31]

If such contagion was allowed to continue, it would have dire consequences for the entire Cuban nation. In accord with other history writers during this xenophobic age, Sánchez de Fuentes believed that Western civilization was the only viable root for a progressive nation.

Only if Cuban music shared the essential patterns of European music, "the most universal of languages" capable of penetrating "directly to the base of our being," could it possibly "fill the heart of the soldier with sublime patriotism" to defend his country, or provide the spiritual power that gave the reformer Martin Luther his "vigorous nature"—much less reach back to the "Greek soul" of the Classical West, "the font of all lyricism." In contrast, African music in Cuba came from hunted "savages" and unhappy slaves whose love for rhythm and dance had prevented them from moving beyond "rudimentary" melody and "primitive orchestras." While African musical forms were intellectually "interesting," they were entirely "exotic" to the Western musical tradition and, thus, could never be incorporated to a Cuban national music that belonged to the West. Perhaps the Decline of the West itself was at stake in these struggles.[32]

Through this historical telling, Sánchez de Fuentes directly connected Cuba to the racial, moral, and material superiority of European nations, while subtly criticizing U.S. influence on Cuban culture. He spoke for much of Cuba's white elite by denying the value of "African" musics then taking the music world by storm. In doing this, he denied Afro-Cubans any influence on genuine Cuban culture, past or present. He stood by these interpretations for the rest of his career, and he used them to defend his policy against black membership in Cuba's Academy of Arts and Letters until his dying day. [33]

Using similar reasoning, some sectors of Cuban (especially Cuban-American) society continue to reject "black" music and musicians to the present day. Yet majority opinion, both popular and intellectual, has since renounced such racist interpretations of the history of Cuban music. As with acceptance of Afro-Brazilians as progenitors of Brazil's national music, this sea change took decades. Other history writers played a pivotal role in accomplishing this major cultural shift in Cuba.[34]

Emilio Grenet (1908-1941)

Emilio Grenet composed in the shadow of his older brother, the international star musician Eliseo Grenet (1893-1950), during his abbreviated life. Emilio tagged along as

Eliseo's career unfolded, first in their birthplace Havana, then in Madrid, Paris, and New York after Machado's government exiled Eliseo in 1932 for composing a subversive "Cuban Lament." Eliseo helped make street *comparsa* and son "respectable" for a commercial, white audience by hybridizing these Afro-Cuban musical forms with danzón and U.S. popular music, most notably, with his immensely popular adaptation of "Ay, Mamá Inés." He was a central figure in the international conga and rumba crazes of the 1930s. Both brothers composed songs based on the poetry of Afro-Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén and profited substantially from the international popularity of things Cuban.[35]

At the behest of the Cuban Secretary of Agriculture, Emilio Grenet wrote an extended introduction to *Popular Cuban Music: 80 Revised and Corrected Compositions* (1939), a government publication explicitly intended to promote Cuban culture among English-speaking tourists. This book provided "a guide to our rhythms and melodies which have awakened universal interest during the past decade," supposedly culminating a 400-year struggle for national cultural expression. After the political crisis of the mid-1930s, which involved the overthrow of Machado, abrogation of the hated Platt Amendment, and an island-wide general strike, Cuba's political leaders (led by shadow president Fulgencio Batista) were eager for peace. On the one hand, they sought closer economic ties between the United States and Cuba, especially in agriculture and tourism; on the other hand, they desired Cuba's cultural independence. The latter entailed greater visibility for Afro-Cuban musicians, though the former meant their continued subordination. Grenet's collection was part of a much larger nationalist project.[36]

Grenet seized this opportunity to promote an explicit alternative to Sánchez de Fuentes's white-elitist theory of Cuba's musical history. Adopting a phrase from a French ethnohistorian working on colonial Latin America, Grenet wished to validate the "spiritual conquest of Cuba" over "all regions . . . all climes . . . all latitudes who recognized in it the true and legitimate quality of popular music."[37] He used an extended analysis of the racial formation of Cuban music to reconcile this expansionist vision of cubanidad to Cuba's racial diversity.

But like Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes (who contributed a brief prologue to this collection), Grenet wished to restore a "true" Cuban music that had been polluted by the process of international popularization. In his eyes, this contaminated music represented, "only the shell without penetrating its inner contents." "Rhumba," in particular, had been "divested of its true spirit and made effeminate in the same manner as the Argentine tango. . . . The result is something alien . . . superficial, false, and unexpressive." Grenet saw U.S. jazz as the great cultural enemy of Cuban music, even though it had "made possible the triumph of our rhumba." Jazz imperialism had driven the native danzón "into the most absolute oblivion," as U.S. musicians took over the best orchestras in Cuba, all of which played for the foreign tastes of the tourist trade. "Sad to say, our son is more popular [in Europe] than it is in our own land where our orchestra musicians boast an American taste." The triumph of Cuban musical forms worldwide paradoxically threatened to destroy music *in* Cuba, and Grenet hoped to sensitize his audience to this reality.[38]

Like Sánchez de Fuentes, Grenet used musical analysis to relate musical form to racial origin. Although he gave a polite nod to Sánchez de Fuentes's authority on music, Grenet rejected his indigenismo. For Grenet, Cuban music derived strictly from "Spanish melodies" and "African rhythm." Zapateo, guajira, punto, habanera, and canción were classified as "peasant"; *bambé*, *tango congo*, *conga*, comparsa, clave, and rumba as "African"; and son, bolero, criolla, contradanza, danza, danzón, *danzonette*, *guaracha*, *pregón*, and versions of conga and canción as "ballroom" forms. The commingling of black and white performers and the predominantely white audience involved in ballroom performances gave these last forms a mixed racial origin. While white peasants sang melodic, folkloric Andalusian lullabies, the African had "no other voice than . . . his drums."[39]

But this African voice was hardly restrained: Even if white Cubans dominated the political and economic realm (a point Grenet did not admit), in "mixed" ballroom contexts "the full force of the powerful vitality of the negro" subdued Spanish song beneath a "rhythmical tyranny." This comment was clearly reminiscent of the racist, overtly sexualized fears that

inspired white persecution of blacks earlier in the century. Grenet shared Sánchez de Fuentes's fear of black power, but unlike him, Grenet thought this power could be adapted to the cause of national liberation. Since Afro-Cuban rhythms had their origin in the "veiled" yet inexorable "complain[t]" for freedom in slave quarters, they had the primal strength to free Cuban music from foreign domination—something white "peasant" music was impotent to accomplish on its own. Racial analysis of the historical origins of Cuban music provided Grenet with the firm base from which to build a strong cultural nationalism.[40]

Grenet gave far more importance to environment than Sánchez de Fuentes in the creation of Cuba's national music. "Styling," an important facet of musical performance that could not be reduced to compositional elements, was "the result of environment" in Grenet's view. Echoing social Darwinists, Grenet declared that son had been able to make its "universal conquest" outside Cuba because it had obtained "its most legitimate savor" during performance in the rigorous environment of "Cuba's rugged East." Danzón, in contrast, failed outside Cuba because "the effects of our climate" had not made it "adaptable to the dynamism of foreign lands." The tropical island environment and racial mixing, together, gave Cuban music its "new and characteristic color." Rather than morally debasing Cuban music, this combination gave it an "unexplainable," transcendant, almost "religious nature." By uniting elements of racial essentialism and climatic determinism, Grenet adopted a perspective remarkably similar to Gilberto Freyre's theory of the development of Brazilian Civilization.[41]

Emilio Grenet thus tried to establish a metaphorical middle ground between emergent afrocubanismo and Sánchez de Fuente's Eurocentric diatribe. He continued to base his genealogy on the analysis of musical elements, a tack befitting a compilation of compositions, as well as the expectations of its intended North American audience. Neither approach admitted Afro-Cubans to full-fledged national citizenship. The musical heritage glorified by Grenet still harbored dark, sexualized images of white subjugation to blacks, and it entirely failed to recognize the fact that the majority of material benefits from the popularity of "African" music accrued to whites like the Grenets. Emilio Grenet's metaphors recapitulated established white

myths about Afro-Cuban prowess in things of the spirit while reenforcing white fears of black prowess in things of the flesh.

Alejo Carpentier (1904-1980)

During his long career, Alejo Carpentier went a long way toward dispelling such racist attitudes. He is best known for his later literary works: The introduction to his 1949 novel *El reino de este mundo* is recognized as a manifesto for magical realism (*lo real maravilloso*), while his 1953 novel *Los pasos perdidos* about a musicologist in the wildlands of Venezuela lucidly examined the relationship of Latin America to the modern North. Such concerns played an influential role in the international boom in Latin American literature of the 1960s. Carpentier is universally revered as one of Latin America's most important twentieth-century authors. Therefore, it is quite significant that he chose to write so much on Cuban music.[42]

Born in Havana to a French father and Russian mother, Carpentier exemplified the cosmopolitan, continent-hopping Cuban intellectual—a fact that has led a few Cuban nationalists to question his cubanidad. From the beginning of his career as a journalist and cultural critic in the 1920s, Carpentier was intensely aware of the vogue of Cuban music in Paris; like so many Latin American intellectuals from this era, he was an avid follower of things French. Yet as an avant-garde librettist, poet, and experimental novelist, he was a practictioner of the afrocubanista writing style, a form that presumed to adopt Afro-Cuban themes, vocabulary, and syntax. He attempted to compose an "antidote to Wall Street" and Yankee imperialism through his adoption of Afro-Cuban forms. A trip to Mexico in 1926 where he interacted with the *muralistas* influenced his turn toward political radicalism. Back in Havana he formally joined the Grupo Minorista. In 1927, he was imprisoned for seven months by the Machado regime after signing the Minorista's manifesto calling for "the revision of all false and wasteful values, for a vernacular art,. . . for Cuba's economic independence." The Minoristas also questioned the inferior status of blacks in the United States and Caribbean and called for the liberation of Puerto Rico from U.S. control. From 1928 to 1939, Carpentier lived in exile in Paris as a bohemian

journalist. Influenced by France's vogue nègre and modernist interest in things "primitive," he became an outspoken proponent of music from Cuba, particularly its "African" musical traditions. A trip to Haiti in 1943 convinced him that these traditions had historical roots elsewhere in the Caribbean and inspired him to investigate the history of Cuban music. This led directly to a remarkable discovery: an archive of lost scores by the eighteenth-century Creole composer Esteban Salas y Castro in the cathedral of Santiago de Cuba.[43]

During yet another trip to Mexico, Carpentier informed Daniel Cosío Villegas, the founder of so many important cultural institutions concerned with Mexico's national history, of his growing interest. Cosío Villegas commissioned Carpentier to write a history of Cuban music. In 1946, soon after Carpentier had moved to Caracas for another fourteen years of exile from his homeland, the Mexican Fondo de Cultura Económica published *La música en Cuba*.[44]

Subsequent intellectuals have proclaimed *La música en Cuba* the first authentic history of Cuban music. More than half a century later—now available in English translation—it remains the most comprehensive examination of cultivated music in Cuba, and it will always retain its place as one of the outstanding Latin American historias patrias focued on a cultural form.[45] In *La música en Cuba*, Carpentier took a distinctly different epistemological approach from his predecessors by basing his conclusions on primary source documents, rather than relying solely on musical analysis. But like Sánchez de Fuentes and Grenet, Carpentier still struggled fiercely with conflicting ideas of race, environment, and nation.

Carpentier took a position on the origins of Cuban music diametrically opposed to Sánchez de Fuentes. Except for the maraca and *güiro* instruments, Indian music had died with its creators in the sixteenth century. All subsequent Cuban musics had been "orphaned" from aboriginal musical traditions. Yet Carpentier still viewed the early decades after the Conquest as essential to the development of music in Cuba: This island served as a "maritime crucible" that combined the musical cultures of the Christian and Moorish West—particularly its tradition of romantic song—with the "elemental" rhythms of unnamed African tribes. This alchemy gave birth to an asymmetric beat known as the clave, a name referring to the resonant wooden pegs

originally used to define this rhythm. Carpentier claimed that the primoridial rhythmic base of music in Cuba had survived virtually unaltered until the mid-nineteenth century.[46]

Cuba still had an indigenous musical tradition, in a manner of speaking. Far more than Sánchez de Fuentes and Grenet, Carpentier decreed that the environment molds all national music. In fact, he thought the context of performance potentially made any music "national." Therefore, a tango played in Cuba, Argentina, Paraguay, or France was always special to the place it was played, no matter what the geographical origins of its rhythm. A Cuban-composed song such as "La paloma azul," even when it was performed using "the same notes and rhythms" favored in Cuba, thus became Mexican simply by breathing "the local air." Carpentier used this environmental theory as a way to link musical changes to specific times and places: Beginning in the nineteenth century, comic minstrel theater (*teatro bufo* or *teatro vernáculo*, often in blackface) acted as "the conservatory of national rhythms" in Cuba because it provided the opportunity for rhythms—and performers—originating in Africa to contribute to a national music culture.[47]

To Carpentier, Cuban national music could not be defined by its essentials; one could only speak of *la música en Cuba*—music created *in* Cuba. No music could have a pre-existing Cuban essence. This was especially true in the case of popular music where improvisation was crucial to performance: Only "starting from the determined moment" did "one have a real *creation*."[48] Carpentier ridiculed the idea of a monolithic national music: He pointed to a variety of "American" innovations that had inspired new musical forms in Iberia—all of which had come originally from African-imported slaves. He noted the silliness of the moniker canción cubana for a musical form known to be based on "foreign" romantic lyrics. He mocked the differentiation some made between "our own" (*nuestra*) and "foreign" (*extraña*) contradanza forms, since the former was obviously the child of the latter.[49]

This issue was no laughing matter for Carpentier. False beliefs about musical nationalism could have deleterious effects on the quality of both composition and performance. Thus, Carpentier chastised Sánchez de Fuentes for exporting his inferior nationalist compositions

while ignorantly denying their incorporation of African elements. Like Sánchez de Fuentes and Grenet, Carpentier was intensely worried about the "rare paradox" that the international popularity of Cuban music had caused "immense damage to popular music from the island." He was particularly disgusted by artists like Xavier Cugat who had supposedly debased Cuban "son orchestras in their pure state" in order to commercialize them abroad during the rumba craze of the 1930s. Worse, Cugat's popularity had led foreign tourists to demand such simplified forms in Cuban tourist cabarets. Cuba's national treasure was thus debased.[50]

This last point would be inconsistent if the environment was solely responsible for the creation of new musical forms. Borrowing a standard premise from political and intellectual history, Carpentier decided that "good music" also required the idiosyncratic genius of a great man. The individual as composer, arranger, or improviser played a vital role in the creation of musical forms, and he alone could give them transcendent significance. Cubanidad explicitly came into play when a musician believed he had created a "national" musical form. "Cubanidad is purely an emanation of the individual submitted to a peculiar environmental formation." It came from inside brilliant composers such as Ignacio Cervantes. ("*Su cubanidad era interior*.") But this state of mind was formed primarily by nurture, not by nature: Cervantes's musical genius emerged because he "had breathed the airs of Europe" before composing and performing art song for elite salons in Cuba. In short, music's national character still emerged primarily from the mind and experience of specific, heroic musicians.[51]

In the 1940s, raising the issue of an individual musician's origin automatically raised the problem of race, still the dominant social category that defined an individual's status in Cuban society. Where did individual musical genius come from? Did racial origin matter? For all his progressive intentions and tendencies toward environmental determinism, Carpentier still thought in racialized terms. Following the intellectual path blazed by Freyre and the Mexican José Vasconcelos, Carpentier dealt with this problem by deploying the concept of cultural mestizaje as a progressive force.[52] He explicitly used racial mixing to explain why Cuba finally emerged from centuries of rhythmic stagnation: Professional Afro-Cuban musicians had first

been given the opportunity to play "white music" at *el baile popular* during the mid-nineteenth century. This provided an avenue for African culture to emerge from the *barracón* (slave quarter) into the white Cuban cultural world. In a racial reversal of this situation, white musicians in blackface later served as "black professors" (*negros catedráticos*) for white Cubans who attended comic minstrel theater. Their performance enabled "a general air" of the African to become acceptable among white audiences, albeit a "schematic and superficial" form of black musicianship.[53]

The son more perfectly exemplified this process of racial and cultural mixing in a new environment. The son was "an atmosphere" emerging from "*patrias chicas*" in Cuba's black-dominated Oriente. "Thanks to the son, Afro-Cuban percussion, [once] confined to the barracón and barrio, revealed its marvellous expressive resources and achieved a category of universal value." Carpentier recognized that such rhythms were themselves derived from scores of different African peoples, each with its own complex musical tradition. With the son, African drums accomplished "a great revolution" in Cuban music by establishing a polyrhythmic form that submitted itself to a unified tempo—a metaphor for his vision of a multi-racial, multi-cultural, but unified Cuban nation.[54]

Such mixing had its moral and aesthetic limits, however. Like so many middle- and upper-class Cubans (both black and white), Carpentier disapprovingly associated "rumbas" with idle gaiety, licentious dance, female prostitution (*mujeres del rumbo*)—and low-class Afro-Cubans. Carpentier obviously privileged the musical creations of elite, white, male, conservatory-trained musicians in his account. He allowed moral judgments based on race (and class and gender) to influence his evaluation of aesthetic merit. He was no cultural relativist. Sometimes, Carpentier used racist criticisms against whites: He clearly thought the black "man of the street" possessing the ñáñigo's "graceful, imaginative, *chévere* spirit" was culturally superior to the poor, white guajiro. He harshly criticized elite Cubans' poor "imitation" of nineteenth-century Italian opera and fin de siècle Paris. Most importantly, he squarely blamed

"the white man" for Afro-Cubans' social inferiority because whites "had always relegated" blacks "to a subaltern condition."[55]

By subordinating race to environment in the creation of musical tradition, Carpentier accomplished a *coup fourré* (a defensive response turned into an offensive blow) that flipped his predecessors' views of the history of Cuban music on their head. He made Afro-Cubans central contributors to his musical vision by emphasizing their race and then causing it to meld with white contributions through an environmentally mediated process of "transculturation." At least in theory, Carpentier's history provided Afro-Cubans with full membership in the Cuban nation, though their race never disappeared. He used the act of writing history to glorify the creation of something universal and eternal that transcended the ephemeral cubanidad living within black and white individuals. By implication, this transcultural Cuban nation was culturally equal to, if not superior to, the bombed-out nations of war-torn Europe.[56]

Fernando Ortiz (1881-1969)

By coming to such conclusions, Carpentier not only echoed other Latin American intellectuals such as Freyre, Vasconcelos, and the Uruguayan José Enrique Rodó, but also his own countryman, Fernando Ortiz.[57] No intellectual history of the writing of the history of Cuban music can be complete without discussing Ortiz, in so many ways the founder of Afro-Cuban studies, especially studies of Afro-Cuban music and dance.

Ortiz's long career as an anthropologist, academic, politician, and occasional historian reflected the gradual change over time in attitudes toward Afro-Cubans that occurred among Cuban intellectuals. He began his career seeking to eradicate Afro-Cuban culture through scientific study of its "degenerate" racial elements. Though he was born in Havana, Ortiz spent less than five of the first 25 years of his life in Cuba. His earliest anthropological studies were done from across the Atlantic in Europe; they treated Afro-Cubans as a dangerous contagion affecting the Cuban nation. His first major article (1905) discussed black criminality, while his first monograph *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros brujos* (1st ed. 1906, 2d ed. 1917) portrayed

"black witches" as social deviants. Ortiz called for the "mental liberation" of "the black population" in Cuba from the "religious atavism" that supposedly retarded their "progress"—and by implication that of the new Cuban republic.[58]

In his 1913 study of Cuban "tropical psychology," Ortiz produced a scientific manifesto—founded on the principle of white supremacy—for studying the influence of race on the historical evolution of the Cuban nation:

> Of these races, *white is basic*, thus [Cuba's] pre-Columbian inhabitants succumbed beneath the weight of the superior race and only left remnants of secondary importance. . . . The black race has influenced the determination of the psychology of our society with much greater intensity. . . . Undoubtedly, one of the first labors of the studies advanced by the new generation should be the precise, objective, minute, and documented analysis, without passion or prejudice, of the multiple elements . . . that each race has brought to our national character. . . .
>
> The field is vast, but even looking a little, one notices the African leaven in many aspects of our customs. . . . Each day all these demonstrations of the black soul are losing their characteristic color, they are made greyer and greyer by their permanent contact with the white soul. . . . To repeat, it is important for the success of all subsequent sociological study of whatever generic aspect of our character, of our civilization and of our history, that the difficult work is begun . . . to offer the sociologist a *museum* where he can . . . establish the participation that the black race has taken in the evolution of our society . . . to define sociologically that which we are, that which we have been, and help direct us toward positive foundations for that which we should be.[59]

Ortiz spent the rest of his career trying to accomplish this nationalist task: to preserve the memory of folkloric attributes of Afro-Cuban culture. In 1913, he had already determined some of the historical "basics" that later appeared in his "scientific. . . social history of folkloric music" in Cuba. But in the short term, he still took a discriminatory attitude toward the "fetishistic dances" of santería ceremony and "orgiastic rumbas" of black street culture. He was

quite satisfied to believe that such inferior elements were destined by natural selection to soon become extinct in everyday life.[60]

Like the other authors discussed in this essay, Ortiz became increasingly involved in nationalist projects during the cultural ferment of the 1920s and 1930s. For example, he played a leading role in the establishment of the Sociedad Cubana del Folklore (1923) and the revitalization of the Socieded Económica de Amigos del País, an institution founded during Cuba's late eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Ortiz continued to serve as an advocate for Cuban cultural forms derived from Europe; like Sánchez de Fuentes, Ortiz was concerned with the Decline of the West. Like Grenet and Carpentier, Ortiz ended up in exile (in the United States) for criticizing Machado's government. But the influence of afrocubanismo and the Grupo Minorista slowly coaxed Ortiz away from his earlier racist attitudes and toward the sustained study of Afro-Cuban music and dance. In 1935, he published his first monograph devoted solely to Afro-Cuban music, and in 1937 he founded the Sociedad de Estudios Afrocubanos. He first developed in detail his new theory of "transculturation" in a long historical essay, *Contrapunteo cubano de azúcar y tabaco* (1940), a work ranked with Freyre's *The Masters and the Slaves* as one of the most important histories of a Latin American nation ever written. Ortiz's understanding of transculturation in this work directly influenced Carpentier's history of music in Cuba.[61]

In the late 1940s, Ortiz undertook the writing of a history of music in Cuba. He sought to remedy the elite-centered biographical lists that commanded most music histories, including Carpentier's book. In Ortiz' view, this emphasis on cultivated music was the result of "ignorance and forgetfulness" with regard to the "complex human factors" involved in the creation of music; in the case of Sánchez de Fuentes, this emphasis was a crude product of racism. Ortiz set out to investigate the true, "vernacular" history of Cuban music in a series of articles published in the *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, the journal of the Sociedad Económica de Amigos del Pais. He he then compiled and revised these essays into a book, *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* (1950). Taking a tack similar to Carpentier, Ortiz sought to identify

the ethnic and social factors that gave racial "pigment" as well as "universal valorization" to Cuba's musical tradition.[62]

But he took a strikingly different epistemological and discursive approach from Carpentier. More like an archaeologist or antiquarian than a typical historian, he emphasized change over time in the artifacts of music-making (instruments, texts, rhythms, melodies, and ceremonial dress). He gave almost no attention to the individuals involved in performance, even though he was coming to depend heavily on ethnographic observation and interviews for his research. Social groups, not great men, were the true source of cultural creativity in his construct. Rather than using textual primary sources to comment on Afro-Cuban music, Ortiz preferred to display his erudite mastery over the writings of other intellectuals, often using their words to speak authoritatively for him. His writing style was most reminiscent of Sánchez de Fuentes, though he largely refrained from musicological analysis, since he had only the rudimentary ability to read music scores.[63]

Ortiz explicitly undertook this work to refute Sánchez de Fuentes's indigenist theory of the roots of Cuban music. In chapter one, Ortiz systematically debunked the supposed "Indo-Cuban" origin of instruments, songs, and dances documented by early Spanish chroniclers; he even linked the *areíto de Anacaona* to Afro-Haitian voodoo. The use of tobacco was Cuba's only significant cultural "inheritance" from the Indians. Cuba's "genuine national musicality," in contrast, came solely from "blacks and whites." In chapter four, he exhaustively disputed Sánchez de Fuentes's contention that "African" music was defined only by its rhythmic essence and had no legitimate melodic tradition.[64]

Ortiz included some elements of class analysis in this history. In his view, folklore was "not precisely primitive" and was better understood as a product of the lower classes (*la gente de abajo*). The upper classes sometimes produced folkloric music that they had absorbed from their social inferiors—unknowingly, in Sánchez de Fuentes's case. Unlike his peers, Ortiz organized his account around a theory of change and nomenclature that sounded scientific: Cuban music

thus evolved over time via "transvaloration," "vertical metastasis," and "horizontal metalepsis."[65]

But Ortiz continued to rely on racialized and sexualized metaphors evocative of Freyre in his history of Cuban civilization. Thus, "*músicas negras*" exhibited a "contagious happiness . . . open sensuality . . . [and] Dionysian fruition" that made them "rich in expression" and seductive as "univeral" aesthetic forms. Authentic Cuban music and dance was "mulatto," the offspring of the "frolic" (*retozo*) between male whites and female blacks. Cuba's true "muses" came from "the rabble" (*gentualla*) instead of the Western classical tradition, Sánchez de Fuentes's "font of all lyricism." Thus, "mothers jealous of their unmarried daughters modesty" and "priests on alert for the lure of demons" naturally abhorred Cuba's true national music. But "the flavors of forbidden fruit" were irresistible for most, and despite the best efforts of Cuba's moral police, music from the slave barracón freely "penetrated" elite salons and became part of even upper-class recreation far back in the past. In the case of the contradanza, Ortiz agreed with Sánchez de Fuentes that this "Norman" dance had come to Cuba with Frenchified Spaniards during the eighteenth century, but "morbid Cuban sensuality" had caused it to become truly Creole. As for Carpentier, traditions could sometimes lose their vitality in this process: The *zarabanda* dance, born "diabolically" among "black conjurers," thus became "denaturalized" as it was appropriated by Cuban high society.[66]

These categories were not static and eternal for Ortiz, as they were for Sánchez de Fuentes, nor were they contingent upon the moment of performance by an individual savant, as they were for Carpentier. For Ortiz, the development of Cuban music was much more fluid: "the history of Cuba . . . *vibrated*" like the African drum. But where was this history leading? Ortiz agreed with African-American composer Alain Locke that

> If black music is to fulfill its highest possibilities, then blacks need to produce "crafted" musicians. . . . They should work towards the goal of two essential things in order to achieve their greatest success: to create a class of well-trained musicians who are both

> familiar with folk and popular musics, and who are capable of developing them in the manner of the great classical musics.

Ortiz, too, thought academic composition was aesthetically superior, but at least he believed that Afro-Cubans were immediately capable of taking this ostensibly progressive step to cultivate these "crafted" forms.[67]

Intellectual Legacies

With Ortiz's work, we can now clearly see the intellectual debate that developed over time in these classic histórias patrias. Their arguments highlight several contradictions at the heart of Cuban nationalist ideology before the Cuban Revolution. Each of these works expressed a deeply rooted desire to find national prestige in Cuba's musical traditions and performance. Each of these authors was forced to come to terms with racial and class differences that fractured their "nation." Yet none of these authors was content to focus on events and processes restricted to Cuba: attention to the international world of musical performance and comparison to the national music traditions of Europe and the United States were necessary ingredients of their nationalism.

While they differed markedly in their approaches to the history of Cuban musical forms, these authors all shared certain premises about Cuban society. First, they were all racial essentialists at some level, even as the others sought to liberate themselves from Sánchez de Fuentes's narrow, anti-African vision of Cuban national music. Second, each of these authors relied on environmental determinants to some degree in order to explain the formation of a peculiar Cuban music. Thus, they turned one of the primary rhetorical tools of ideologies of Western dominance into a weapon to defend Cuba's national vitality.[68] There was no necessary contradiction between their continued reliance on racial stereotypes and use of environmental explanations: for Grenet, Carpentier, and Ortiz, as for Freyre in Brazil, the Cuban tropical environment provided an ideal context for the promiscuous mixing of musical forms and sexual creation of a unique—even superior—mestizo or mulatto music. Third, each of these authors

still recognized a class difference between "cultivated" and "folkloric" music and recognized the aesthetic superiority of some musical forms and performances over others. In none of these four cases was the Cuban musical tradition truly unified.

The works of Carpentier and Ortiz represent an important point of departure for nationalist discourse in post-revolutionary Cuba. Carpentier and Ortiz were declared heroes of the Cuban Revolution. As a consequence, their conclusions on the racial origins of Cuban music have become orthodoxy in post-revolutionary histories of Cuban music, and few Cuban-resident intellectuals have been willing to criticize them directly.[69]

But these four historians are important for reasons that transcend their influence on subsequent historians of Cuban music. They illustrate a vitality of Cuban intellectual life corollary to the intense and enduring vitality of Cuban musical life. While they adapted premises common to their time regarding race, environment, gender, science, and progress, Carpentier and Ortiz, in particular, contributed original theories about the invention of tradition that could be applied outside the Cuban context. In these works, the Golden Age of history writing intersected with the Golden Age of Cuban music.

But these works leave us with an unsatisfying portrayal of the "color of gold" in Cuban tradition. As ideologies of culture, they failed to make Afro-Cubans full equals to whites in Cuba. Racial bias against many forms of Afro-Cuban culture lived on in these texts, as it does in contemporary Cuba and Cuban expatriot communities. Robin Moore notes that Cuban art musicians began to react against afrocubanismo and turn toward neo-classicism about the time Carpentier and Ortiz wrote these works, so they had a limited, even reverse impact on their intellectual contemporaries. By several objective standards, the Cuban revolutionary state improved the material conditions of most Afro-Cubans as it professed to put an end to "bourgeois" racism. Nevertheless, it initially repressed several Afro-Cuban cultural forms, as well as a few Afro-Cuban intellectuals such as Walterio Carbonell who spoke out against post-revolutionary racism. On the bright side, the Cuban revolutionary government gradually relaxed its repression, and it now officially sponsors Afro-Cuban musical performance through the

Conjunto Folklórico Nacional and other groups. The popularity of salsa since the 1970s and the enormous, nostalgic international following of Afro-Cuban composer Israel "Cachao" López and the Buena Vista Social Club that developed during the 1990s have reinforced these trends.[70]

In conclusion, perhaps it is worth considering the hegemonic significance of these nationalist music histories. Rather than freeing blacks to participate in Cuban political and economic life, they may have served ultimately to restrict Afro-Cuban participation to a narrow cultural realm. Worse, they may have set up Afro-Cuban culture as a resource to be exploited and profited from by others. It is obvious from these texts that nobody has the power to simply imagine away the prejudice and conflict that rules a society stratified by race and class.

In the intellectual realm, paradoxically, individuals like Carpentier and Ortiz may have been too successful in presenting their case. By repeatedly emphasizing Cuba and Latin America's positive cultural distinction in popular music, magical realism, and the like, scholars have become almost blinded to the possibility that Latin Americans might have pioneered in elite "Western" endeavors such as history writing, philosophy, science, and technology, much less that they could have affected the course of global history in these lofty realms. Those few Latin Americanists who are trying to write intellectual history today have an important story to tell the rest of the world about the historical development of the "nation" and "Western Civilization."[71]

Notes

[*] *Acknowledgements*: The author would like to thank Aline Helg, Matt Childs, Benigno Trigo, *LAMR's* reviewers, and especially Mirna Y. Cabrera for their helpful comments.

1. Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (1946; reprint, Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica Colección Popular, 1972), p. 18.

1. Alejo Carpentier, *La música en Cuba* (1946; reprint, Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica Colección Popular, 1972), p. 18.

2. Guillermo Cabrera Infante, "Una historia ináudita," prologue to *Cuba y sus sones*, by Natalio Galán (Valencia, Spain: Pre-Textos/Música, 1983), pp. ix-x, xii, xvi-xvii .

3. Ibid., p. xii.

4. "Gumbo," episode 1 of *Jazz: A Film by Ken Burns*, VHS, directed by Ken Burns (PBS Home Video/Warner Bros., 2000).

5. "Risk," episode 8 of *Jazz*. See Barbara Browning, *Infectious Rhythm: Metaphors of Contagion and the Spread of African Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1998).

6. "The Adventure," episode 9 of *Jazz*; John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States*, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 58, 93.

7. Geoffrey C. Ward, *Jazz: A History of America's Music* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), pp. 208-209, 326, 345-346, 361-362. Cf. Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, pp. ix-x, 100-101, 113-121.

8. Hermano Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba: Popular Music and National Identity in Brazil*, trans. John Charles Chasteen (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 117; Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*, 2d ed., trans. Samuel Putnam (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), originally published as *Casa-grande e senzala* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1933); idem, *The Mansions and the Shanties: The Making of Modern Brazil*, trans. Harriet de Onís (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), originally published as *Sobrados e mucambos* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1936); idem, *Order and Progress: Brazil from Monarchy to Republic*, trans. Rod W. Horton (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), originally published as *Ordem e progresso*, 2 vol. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1959); Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1936). Until quite recently, music has received surprisingly little attention

from students of Afro-Brazilian culture, with the marked exception of Mario de Andrade (1893-1945); see Mareia Quintero Rivera, "Repertório de identidades: Música e representações do nacional em Mário de Andrade (Brasil) e Alejo Carpentier (Cuba) nas décadas de 1920-1940," (PhD diss., Universidade de São Paulo, 2002); and Gerhard Béhague, "Latin America," in *Ethnomusicology: Regional and Historical Studies*, ed. Helen Myers (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), p. 484.

9. *Carmen Miranda: Bananas Is My Business*, VHS, directed by Helena Solberg (Fox Lorber Home Video, 1996); Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*, pp. 93, 95-97. Cf. Santuza Cambraia Naves, *Da bossa nova a tropicália* (Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 2001).

10. Eric Zolov, *Refried Elvis: The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999); E. Taylor Atkins, *Blue Nippon: Authenticating Jazz in Japan* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001).

11. *Carmen Miranda: Bananas Is My Business*; Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*, pp. 93-94.

12. Donald J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 4th ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), pp. 771-772. For a traditional view on national styles in music, see *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), s.v. "Musicology, §III: National traditions of musicology." On nationalism in Latin American music, see Béhague, "Music since c. 1920," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), vol. 10, pp. 307-363; idem, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1979), pt. 2.

13. To use the language preferred by my historical subjects, hereafter I will use 'popular' to denote music created and performed primarily by and for the plebian masses, 'folkloric' to denote traditional forms of popular music, and 'cultivated' to denote music created and performed primarily by and for elites; no normative judgments regarding the aesthetic value of these forms are intended by my use of these words.

14. Grout and Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, pp. 810, 816; *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Kódaly, Zoltán"; Helen Myers, "Introduction," in *Ethnomusicology*, 4-5; Béhague, "Latin America," pp. 472-472, 476.

15. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 187-206; Ernst Breisach, *Historiography: Ancient, Medieval, & Modern*, 2d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 228-267, esp. p. 261; Harry Elmer Barnes, *A History of Historical Writing*, 2d ed. (New York: Dover, 1962), pp. 207-238, esp. p. 236.

16. Jorge Cañizares Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); cf. D. A. Brading, *The First America: The Spanish Monarchy, Creole Patriots, and the Liberal State, 1492-1867* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

17. Allen Woll, *A Functional Past: The Uses of History in Nineteenth-Century Chile* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); cf. Ivan Jaksic, *Andrés Bello: Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Latin America* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2001).

18. Germán Colmenares, *Convenciones contra la cultura: Ensayos sobre la historiografía hispanoamericana del siglo XIX* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores, 1987), pp. 11-47, 201-202. See also Stuart Schwartz, "A House Built on Sand: Capistrano De Abreu and the History of Brazil," introduction to *Chapters of Brazil's Colonial History, 1500-1800*, by João Capistrano De Abreu (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. xii-xxxiv; Jack Ray Thomas, introduction to *Biographical Dictionary of Latin American Historians and Historiography* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984), pp. 3-77.

19. For a concise introduction to this discourse in Cuba, Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico, see Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), esp. pp. 1-4. On racist discourse in nineteenth-century Latin American histories, see Colmenares, *Convenciones contra la cultura*, pp. 78-89. On environmental determinism and its close ties to imperialist thought, see J. M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guilford Press, 1993).

20. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. xi-xiii, 6, 33-36, 44-45, 47-65, 187-206; see also Anderson's comments on the firm distinction between patriotism and racism, pp. 141-154. This reimagining of nationalism has produced an explosion of historical and theoretical works in many languages: On the significance of patriotic songs

and historical memory, see also Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1, 4-7, 11-14, 263, 272-274, 277. On the "agnostic" revolution, see also Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1788: Programme, Myth, Reality* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 1-13. Postcolonial scholarship has begun to take issue with Anderson's—some say Eurocentric—search to find "precursors of modernity" in the colonial Americas, Cañizares, *How to Write the History of the New World*, pp. 204-210; cf. Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001).

21. Fernando Ortiz was among the first to collect vocabularies of Cuban and Afro-Cuban regionalisms: Ortiz, *Nuevo catauro de cubanismos* (1923; Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1974); idem, *Glosario de afronegrismos* (1924; Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1990); cf. José Sánchez-Boudy, *Diccionario de cubanismos mas usuales: Como habla el cubano*, 6 vol. (Miami, FL: Ediciones Universal, 1978).

22. Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), pp. 23-54; Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), ch. 8. Cf. Winthrop R. Wright, *Café con leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (1971; reprint, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986).

23. Pérez, *Cuba*, pp. 185-188, 191; Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, pp. 229-236; John J. Johnson, *Latin America in Caricature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), pp. 116-209.

24. Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, pp. 17, 35-38; Robin D. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afrocubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), pp. 27-32, 34-40. On these points, see also Pérez, *On Becoming Cuban: Identity, Nationality and Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Jorge Ibarra, *Prologue to Revolution: Cuba, 1898-1958*, trans. Marjorie Moore (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998), ch. 8; Alejandro de la Fuente, "Race and Inequality in Cuba, 1899-1981," *Journal of Contemporary History* 30 (1995), pp. 131-168; Vera M. Kutzinski, *Sugar's Secrets: Race and the Erotics of Cuban Nationalism* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), ch. 5-6.

25. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, esp. pp. 80-84, 104-111, 122-127, 143-146, 171-188, 191-214; Kutzinski, *Sugar's Secrets*, pp. 149-150. On Guillén, see Antonio Benítez Rojo, *La isla que se repite: El Caribe y la perspectiva posmoderna*, 2d ed. (Hanover, NH: Ediciones del Norte, 1996); on Lam, see Jacqueline Barnitz, *Twentieth-Century Art of Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), pp. 121-124. Samba followed a remarkably similar path toward recognition as Brazil's "national" music during these years, see Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*, passim.

26. On the meaning of popular, folkloric, and cultivated music forms, see n. 13. Cabrera Infante, "Una historia ináudita," p. xiii; Helio Orovio, ed., *Diccionario de la música cubana: Biográfico y técnico* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1981), s.v. "Sánchez de Fuentes, Eduardo"; Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 123-125, 127-131. Cf. Mario Guiral Moreno, *Un gran musicógrafo y compositor cubano, Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes* (Havana : Imprenta "El Siglo XX," 1944); Ann Wright, "Intellecutals of an Unheroic Period of Cuban History, 1913-23: The 'Cuba Contemporanea' Group," *Latin American Research Review* 7, no. 1 (1988): 109-122.

On indigenismo as a cultural movement elsewhere in Latin America, see esp. Nelson Manrique, *La piel y la pluma: Escritos sobre literatura, etnicidad y racismo* (Lima: CiDiAG/Sur Casa de Estudios de Socialismo, 1999); Efrain Kristal, *The Andes Viewed from the City: Literary and Political Discourse on the Indian in Peru, 1848-1930* (New York: P. Lang, 1987); Luis Villoro, *Los grandes momentos del indigenismo en México* (Mexico City: El Colegio de México, 1950).

27. Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes y Peláez, "Influencia de los ritmos africanos en nuestro cancionero," in *Las bellas artes en Cuba*, vol. 18 of *Evolución de la Cultura Cubana (1608-1927)*, ed. José Manuel Carbonell y Rivero (La Habana: Siglo XX, 1928), pp. 155-202.

28. Sánchez de Fuentes, "Influencia de los ritmos africanos," pp. 155, 157, 169.

29. Ibid., pp. 162, 164, 169, 170-171, 194; Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 19, 23-26, 49, 66, 129.

30. Sánchez de Fuentes, "Influencia de los ritmos africanos," pp. 172-174, 187-188, 198. Cf. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz, *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race Question in Brazil, 1870-1930,* trans. Leland Guyer (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999); Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man*, rev. ed. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996).

31. Sánchez de Fuentes, "Influencia de los ritmos africanos," 168, 175-76, 189.

32. Ibid., pp. 178-179, 182-187, 197-198. Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1918-1922) had a widespread influence on Latin American intellectuals during this era, but his declarations of European decadence did not necessarily entail celebration of things Latin American, as in José Vasconcelos's theory of a Cosmic Race. Several prominent intellectuals from this era, such as the conservative Colombian Laureano Gómez, thought the Decline of the West meant the decline of Hispanic American nations. See James D. Henderson, *Modernization in Colombia: The Laureano Gómez Years, 1889-1965* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), p. 149; Richard M. Morse, "The Multiverse of Latin American Identity, c. 1920-c. 1970," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 10, p. 91.

33. See Sánchez de Fuentes, *Panorama actual de la música cubana* (Havana: Molina y Compañía, 1940), inaugural presidential address delivered to the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras, 16 Dec. 1940; idem, "La música cubana y sus orígenes," *Boletín latino-americano de música* (Bogotá) 4 (Oct. 1938), pp. 177-182; idem, *La música aborigen de América* (Havana: Molina y Compañía, 1938), inaugural presidential address delivered to the Academia Nacional de Artes y Letras, 22 Oct. 1938.

34. See Vianna, *The Mystery of Samba*, passim; Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 218-219; de la Fuente, "Race and Inequality in Cuba"; Peter Manuel, ed., *Essays on Cuban Music: North American and Cuban Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1991), passim. For an explicit refutation of Sánchez de Fuentes, see Rogelio Martínez Furé, "*Tambor* (Drum)," in *Essays on Cuban Music*, p. 33.

35. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 78-80, 95, 108-109, 135, 137, 173, 180-181; *Diccionario de la música cubana*, s.v. "Grenet, Eliseo," "Grenet, Emilio."

36. Emilio Grenet, introduction to *Popular Cuban Music: 80 Revised and Corrected Compositions*, trans. R. Phillips (Havana: Carasa & Co., 1939), pp. vii, ix; Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 144-145; Pérez, *Cuba*, pp. 276-281; Rosalie Schwartz, *Pleasure Island: Tourism and Temptation in Cuba* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), esp. ch. 5-7.

37. Grenet, introduction to *Popular Cuban Music*, p. ix; cf. Robert Ricard, *La "conquete spirituelle" du Mexique* (Paris: Institut d'ethnologie, 1933), trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson under the title *The Spiritual Conquest of*

Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966).

38. Grenet, introduction to *Popular Cuban Music*, pp. vii, ix, xxviii-xxxiv.

39. Ibid., pp. x, xiii, xxii-xxiii.

40. Ibid., pp. xi-xiii.

41. Ibid., pp. xi-xii, xxii, xxxiv, xxxvi-xxxvii. In the *The Masters and the Slaves*, Freyre declared, "It was the economic system of monoculture and slave labor in secret alliance with the climate that created an atmosphere of sexual intoxication" for the male "Portuguese colonizer" that led him to unite with the female "Negro slave" whose mulatto progeny gave birth to Brazilian civilization; Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves*, pp. xxx-xxxi, lxix, 21, 43, 265, 397. Such environmental thinking influenced the development of a "soft" Latin American version of eugenics; Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics: Race, Gender, and Nation in Latin America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

42. Gerald Martin, "Latin American Narrative since c. 1920," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. 10, pp. 129-221, esp. pp. 170, 175-176. The literature on Carpentier's literary achievements is enormous, see esp. Benítez Rojo, *La isla que se repite: El Caribe y la perspectiva posmoderna*, ch. 5; Leonardo Padura Fuentes, *Un camino de medio siglo: Carpentier y la narrativa de lo real maravilloso* (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1994); Donald L. Shaw, *Alejo Carpentier* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985).

43. Timothy Brennan, introduction to *Music in Cuba*, by Alejo Carpentier, trans. Alan West-Durán (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), pp. 4-5, 8-9, 11, 13, 16-17, 33-34, 39; Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 175-176, 191-214; *Diccionario de la música cubana*, s.v. "Carpentier, Alejo"; Kutzinski, *Sugar's Secrets*, ch. 5. For examples of Carpentier's voluminous writings from Paris on music for readers in Cuba, see Carpentier, *Temas de la lira y del bongo*, ed. Radamés Giro (Havana: Editorial Letras Cubanas, 1994); on his rediscovery of Salas's opus, see idem, "El rescate de Esteban Salas," in *Temas de la lira y del bongo*, pp. 459-463.

44. Brennan, introduction to *Music in Cuba*, pp. 5-6. On the cultural importance of Cosío Villegas in Mexico, especially to history writing, see Roderic A. Camp, *Intellectuals and the State in Twentieth-Century Mexico*

(Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), esp. p. 146; Enrique Krauze, *Daniel Cosío Villegas: Una biografía intellectual* (Mexcio City: Joaquín Mortiz, 1980).

45. As Robin Moore notes in his review of Brennan and West-Durán's translation, Carpentier's commentary on the evolution of folkloric and popular music in Cuba was quite brief; Moore, review of *Music in Cuba*, by Alejo Carpentier, *Latin American Music Review* 22:2 (2001), pp. 255-258; Cabrera Infante, "Una historia ináudita," p. xiv; Argeliers León, "Of the Axle and the Hinge: Nationalism, Afro-Cubanism, and Music in Pre-Revolutionary Cuba," in *Essays on Cuban Music*, p. 282; Béhague, "Music since c. 1920," vol. 9, p. 941.

46. Carpentier, *La música en Cuba*, pp. 9, 26-27, 56.

47. Ibid., pp. 249-250, 254; see also Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, ch. 2.

48. "A partir de determinado momento hubo verdadera *creación*," Carpentier's emphasis, *La música en Cuba*, p. 249; cf. Cabrera Infante, "Una historia ináudita," p. xiv.

49. Carpentier, *La música en Cuba*, pp. 48, 59-61, 92, 158-167.

50. Ibid., pp. 276-283, 360-362; cf. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 178-188.

51. Carpentier, *La música en Cuba*, pp. 211-212, 224, 226.

52. Note that Vasconcelos's theory of a mixed Cosmic Race was first published in Paris, not Mexico, further evidence of Paris's continued cultural influence for Latin Americans, at least among the avant garde; Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica: Misión de la raza iberoamericana* (Paris: Agencia Mundial de Librería, 1925).

53. Ibid., pp. 143, 230-31, 235, 288. Following Carpentier, Robin Moore also places great importance on *teatro vernáculo* as the venue where Afrocuban music and dance was first commercialized—as a forum of symbolic negotiation where the idea that "African" culture could be genuinely "Cuban" gained credence, even though these sites continued to perpetuate racial bias and discrimination; Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, ch. 2.

54. Carpentier, *La música en Cuba*, pp. 241-254, 293.

55. Ibid., pp. 166-167, 243, 273-274, 287, 302-304, 362. Because of such negative associations, "traditional" rumba retains its poor reputation and has not been commercialized to this day, making it difficult to study in the present, much less the past. Later analysts have also found it nearly impossible to define rumba except by its performance context. Most music called "rumba" bears little relationship to the slums of Havana and

Matanzas, the supposed origin of the genre. Thus, according to Robin Moore, it is "ridiculous" to use the words "authentic" and "inauthentic" to describe this form of Cuban "national" music; Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 188-190; see also Yvonne Daniel, *Rumba: Dance and Social Change in Contemporary Cuba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995). Carpentier's opinions on the *ñáñigo* vs. *guajiro* spirit are reminiscent of U.S. snobbery against poor, white "country music" in favor of black jazz, blues, etc.

56. Carpentier, *La música en Cuba*, pp. 287-288.

57. More than any other work, José Enrique Rodó's 1900 essay *Ariel* stimulated discussion of Latin America's cultural and aesthetic superiority over the United States' military and economic prowess; see Rodó, *Ariel*, trans. Margaret Sayers Peden (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988).

58. Ortiz quoted by Moore, "Representations of Afrocuban Expressive Culture in the Writings of Fernando Ortiz," *Latin American Music Review* 15:1 (1994), pp. 32-37; this section closely follows Moore's interpretation. See also "La criminalita dei negri in Cuba," *Archivo di Psichiatria, Medicina Legale ed Antropologia Criminale* (Turin) 26 (1905); idem, *Hampa afrocubana: Los negros brujos (apuntes para un estudio de etnología criminal)* (Madrid: Librería de Fe, 1906).

59. Emphasis added; Oritz, "Las supervivencias africanas en Cuba," in *Entre cubanos: Psicología tropical* (1913; Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1993), pp. 86-89; translation by Moore, "Representations of Afrocuban Expressive Culture," p. 37.

60. Ortiz, *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba* (Havana: Ministerio de Educación, Dirección de Cultura, 1950), p. xv; see also n. 21.

61. Moore, "Representations of Afrocuban Expressive Culture," pp. 38-41; *Diccionario de la música cubana*, s.v. "Ortiz, Fernando"; Ortiz, *La clave xilofónica de la música afrocubana: Ensayo etnográfico* (1935; Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1984); idem, *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, trans. Harriet de Onís (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947), originally published as *Contrapunteo cubano de azúcar y tabaco* (Havana: Jesús Montero, 1940). On the broader impact of *Contrapunteo cubano*, see Morse, "The Multiverse of Latin American Identity," vol. 10, pp. 64-66; Benítez Rojo, *La isla que se repite*, ch. 4; Gustavo Pérez Firmat, *The*

Cuban Condition: Translation and Identity in Modern Cuban Literature (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

62. Ortiz, *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba*, pp. vi, xii, xv.

63. Ibid., passim; cf. Moore, "Representations of Afrocuban Expressive Culture," pp. 44-45.

64. Ortiz, *La africanía de la música folklórica de Cuba*, esp. pp. 1, 92, 104, 248.

65. Ibid., pp. xi-xii, xiv.

66. Ibid., pp. viii-xi, xiii, 350.

67. Ibid, pp. 104-105, 140-142, emphasis added; Moore, "Representations of Afrocuban Expressive Culture," 46-47, Moore's translation of quote.

68. See Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989), esp. p. 342. Adas argues that environmental determinism was much more important than scientific racism in constructing these ideologies.

69. See Moore, "Representations of Afrocuban Expressive Culture," p. 33; Odilio Urfé, "Music and Dance in Cuba," in *Africa in Latin America*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1977), p. 181.

70. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, pp. 221-227.

71. On this point, see the comment by Jorge Cañizares in *How to Write the History of the New World*, p. 10; cf. idem, "New World, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600-1650," *American Historical Review* 104:1 (1999), pp. 33-68.